

The New Balkan Problem: The Division of Austria

The German Treaty Was a Simple Matter Compared to the Present Issue at Versailles

Races With Rivalries a Thousand Years Old Will Be Released by the Liquidation of the Old Hapsburg Empire

By Frank H. Simonds

Paris, May 31.

While the Germans are still debating the peace terms served upon them the Austro-Hungarian Empire is in its turn passing before the Conference of Paris, and, in fact, submitting to final dissolution. No single change following the war can have more far reaching effects for the future in Europe than the total liquidation of that empire which only a few brief months ago was, next to Russia, the largest in area on the Continent, and, next to Russia and Germany, the largest in population.

To-day, as a result of the settlement which was made in the treaty of St. Germain, the Austrians and Hungarians, who combined to rule an empire of 260,000 square miles, with a population of more than 51,000,000, will find themselves restricted to an area of a little more than 100,000 square miles and a population of hardly fifteen millions. This population and this area will be fairly evenly divided between the two ruling races of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Germans and the Magyars.

Complete Disruption Of a Powerful Empire

We have, then, a complete disruption of one of the great empires of modern history. A hundred years ago at the Congress of Vienna, Austria, represented by Metternich, had decisive influence. For forty years thereafter this influence remained. Prior to the Congress of Vienna France and Austria for two centuries had been rivals for the rebirth of national aspirations among the subject peoples of the Hapsburg Empire. Above all, the Pan-Slav aspirations of the Serbs, Poles, Czechs, Croats and Slovaks have combined to destroy utterly what has been one of the most powerful forces in European history.

It is worth recalling again that this world war which we are now liquidating had its occasion in the assassination of the Austrian Archduke at Sarajevo just five years ago. It is worth remembering that this war had its origin in the conviction held alike in Vienna, Budapest and Berlin, that the result of the Balkan wars had doomed the Hapsburg edifice unless preventive war could postpone the evil day. The majority of the subjects of Francis Joseph were Slav. At no distant time this majority would assert its right and change the whole course of Austro-Hungarian policy. Archduke Francis Ferdinand himself, foreseeing the inevitable change, was preparing to admit the Slavs into the new Austro-Hungarian federation when an assassin's bullet terminated his life, and the last hope of salvation for the empire which would have been his.

Hoped to Crush Serbs And Cow Slavs at Home

The Austrians challenged the Serbs, because the ruling race believed that if Serbia were crushed the Slavs within the empire would be cowed and forced to abandon separatist aspirations. Germany supported Austria, because German hopes and ambitions rested squarely upon the preservation of the existing rulers in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

When Russia took up the cause of the Serbs, when France and Great Britain were brought inevitably into the struggle, when Italy finally enlisted, then it became clear that whatever were the other issues of the war only German victory could save Austria. With the fall of Russia, Allied plans for the partition of Austria-Hungary were temporarily laid aside, but with the sudden change in the situation last summer and the collapse of Austria at Piave last autumn the Hapsburg monarchy suddenly dissolved, it fell apart into fragments, and now it is the business of the Paris conference to determine the frontiers between these fragments.

The collapse of so great an empire must necessarily produce consequences too far reaching to be fully appreciated at the moment. Five

years ago the three great empires occupying Central and Eastern Europe were dominating factors in all European calculations. To-day Austria is a mass of incoherent fragments, Russia is in a state of anarchy and Germany, for the moment at least, lies prostrate. In all three great states dynasty has disappeared and republics have replaced royalty.

Austria Long Held To Be a Buffer State

It has been said of Austria in the olden times that if there were no such state it would be necessary to create one to preserve the peace of Europe. The truth of this observation is being brought home again when the Paris conference is struggling with the conflicting national aspirations of the inhabitants of the old empire with the full realization that even were insoluble ethnological complexities satisfactorily adjusted, economic problems even more serious for the future would remain.

It is no little operation to divide 260,000 square miles of territory and 51,000,000 of people belonging to at least a dozen races in such fashion as to satisfy the people thus separated and preserve for all of them some semblance of economic possibility in the future.

In the old Austro-Hungarian Empire there were Germans, Magyars, Rumanians, Italians, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Slovenes, Croats and Jews. In the long course of its history the Hapsburg dynasty had acquired territory in all directions, inhabited by a population incapable of fusion, and these populations, through centuries of oppression, had acquired animosities and hostilities indescribably acute.

When Austria-Hungary fell there were immediately formed a certain number of states. In the north the Poles in Galicia made common cause with their brethren in Russia. The Czechs of Austria joined hands with the Slovaks of Hungary; Serbs, Croats and Slovenes united with the Serbs to the south; Italy laid hands upon her lost provinces; Rumania a little less promptly occupied Transylvania, Bukovina and other regions inhabited by Rumanians.

Empire's Fall a Signal For Rise of New State

Thereupon there arose and endures almost an indescribable chaos of new questions. Poles and Czechs-Slovaks dispute the possession of the region of Teschen; Poles and Ukrainians both claim Lemberg and East Galicia; the Germans of Bohemia demand separation from the Czechs; Rumanians and Ukrainians are at odds over Bukovina; Czechs-Slovaks and Ukrainians over the Slav regions of northeast Hungary; Serbs and Rumanians are quarreling over western Banat; Serbs—that is, Jugo-Slavs—and Italians are at daggers drawn over Fiume and Dalmatia; Austrian Germans and Jugo-Slavs are contesting the possession of the districts north of the Drave.

Here, then, is a situation defying diplomacy. There was the old Austro-Hungary question between the Serbs and the Hapsburg monarchy, and between the Italians and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but to-day, with the Hapsburgs gone and the empire fallen, twenty questions, each threatening the peace of the world, have arisen.

Nor is it possible to solve these questions by the simple application of the fourteen points or of any other formula.

An example: Banat, claimed by Hungarians, Serbs and Rumanians, is actually inhabited by half a score of races no one of which is in the majority. There are more Rumanians than Serbs or Hungarians, but there are several hundred thousand Germans. Further, any ethnological division would result in economic paralysis, since it would give one country a larger part of territory, but another all railroad and river outlets.

No Easy Matter to Reconcile All Races

To solve the Austro-Hungarian problem by faithful appreciation of the right of self-determination would be to create a crazy-quilt. To settle it on the basis of economic interests would be to perpetuate chaos by continuing a mixture of races, and yet some solution, some settlement, must be made.

At the present moment we have seen the whole progress of the peace conference threatened by the dispute of the Jugo-Slavs and Italians over Fiume. A temporary compromise for this question may be found; a solution remains, practically speaking, impossible.

There is not a well informed observer in Paris who does not believe that war between the Italians and the Jugo-Slavs is a moral certainty within the next decade. We have removed the peril of Italia Irredenta, but, despite the best intentions of the Paris Conference, a

new Irredenta has been created on the Adriatic.

Moreover, the old tendency toward combination is reasserting itself. Italian policy and Rumanian policy march toward a common alliance against Jugo-Slavs, since Rumania claims all of Banat and Italy the Jugo-Slav regions on the Adriatic. A similar drift of Hungarian policy toward Germany is inevitable, since Hungary will find herself without natural frontiers and reduced from

a state of 20,000,000 to an insignificant republic of 7,000,000. German Austria already has demanded union with Germany.

Natural Barriers Defy All Rules of Existence

In uniting Czechs, Slovaks, Rumanians and South Carpathians the Paris conference has liberated large numbers of Slavs, but the new state it has created defies all rules of national existence. It extends transversely across mountains; railroads and highways uniting east with west do not exist and cannot be built, and if the Czechs and Slovaks have been united of their own wish the Rumanians will clamor for unity with the Ukraine.

Besides the solution of the Austrian problem the German question

is trivial. Actually, in creating half a dozen new states we have raised twice as many new problems. Exactly as the liberation of the Greeks, Bulgars and Serbs led to immediate rivalry between these three new states, a rivalry which provoked at least two wars between Serbia and Bulgaria and one between Greece and Bulgaria, we now have prepared the way for similar conflicts between Poles and Ukrainians, Czechs and Ukrainians, Rumanians and Ukrainians, Magyars and Rumanians, Magyars and Czechs-Slovaks, Jugo-Slavs and Rumanians, Jugo-Slavs and Italians and Jugo-Slavs and Austrians.

In all this welter of conflicting national aspirations a single solution is discoverable, although it

seems to-day impossible to realize—the reunion of at least a portion of Austria-Hungary in economic if not political federation, the association of Czechs-Slovaks, Hungarians, Rumanians, Jugo-Slavs and German-Austrians. This may lead in time to the creation of a situation of peace and cooperation.

Italy and Germany Are Two Big Barriers

But two great powers will set their faces against such solution: Italy, which fears that such a federation would contest its supremacy on the Adriatic; Germany, which hopes to acquire Austria and, by preserving anarchy to the southward, keep alive the opportunity to recreate little Europa, which was

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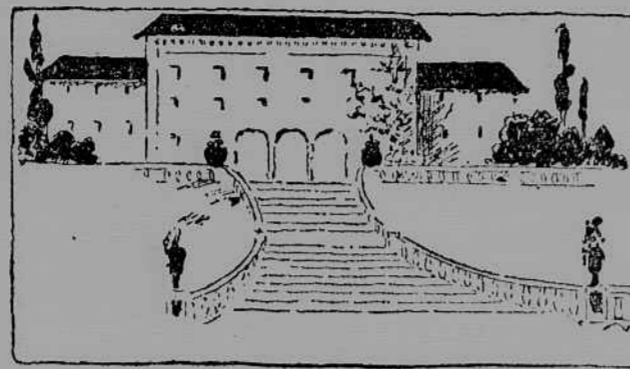
Opportunity, Box 300, Tribune.

her dominating ambition before and during the war.

It must be apparent that the treaty of St. Germain, which we are presently to make with Austria, and the subsequent treaty which we shall

make with Hungary, will in fact settle nothing. To liquidate the Austro-Hungarian Empire will at least be as complicated and difficult

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Amid Thousandfold Frocks for Summertime Is THIS NEWEST MISSES' SILHOUETTE ADMIRABLY ADAPTED TO THE RESORT SEASON

"WHERE shall we go?" is no greater a question of the moment than "What shall we wear?" And the Misses' Gown Shop responds with suggestions a thousandfold, for it is only through a selection of the widest appeal that the Miss can find the right gowns for the multitude of Summer diversions for which she has planned. In the little niceties of design that lend the authority of fashion without adding to age, these Summertime frocks present a character that the demoiselle will be quick to appreciate, for Summertime is the heytime of youth.

Evening Gowns for the Resort Season

THIS blithesome Summertime of peace demands new and more elaborate feminine fashions bringing to the fore evening gowns of adorable softness and alluring charm.

An air of fragility and delicacy is essential to feminine beauty, so de luxe materials—sheer and soft—are used to fashion these frocks. And all is not left to the materials; the designing betrays art in every line—the whirl and swirl of draperies, the use of scintillating silver laces—the dash and mystery of a sash—and the coquetry of a corsage of French flowers, all add their charm.

TAFFETA GOWNS
LACE GOWNS
GEORGETTE GOWNS

MOIRE GOWNS
SATIN GOWNS
NET GOWNS

TULLE GOWNS
CHIFFON GOWNS
ORGANDIE GOWNS

Twenty-nine Fifty to Ninety-eight Fifty

Daytime Frocks for the Resort Season

FROCKS planned for THIS Summertime differ widely from the frocks of yesteryear—the silhouette is different—so are the sleeves—the sash and collar arrangements—the embroidered designs—the application of laces and the drape and shape of the skirts—all new—all different.

The return of essentially feminine fashions gives a thousandfold opportunities for pictorial effects. While the inspiration for many of these new gowns comes from Romney and Gainsborough paintings, art is neither ancient nor modern but perpetual, and a fashion revival only adds another charming and original picture to the galerie.

GEORGETTE FROCKS
TAFFETA FROCKS
FOULARD FROCKS

CHARMEUSE FROCKS
CREPE METEOR FROCKS
TRICOLETTE FROCKS

ORGANDIE FROCKS
DOTTED SWISS FROCKS
SHEER VOILE FROCKS

Twenty-nine Fifty to Ninety-eight Fifty

MISSES' GOWN SHOP—Second Floor

Auteuil and Longchamps Seal The Newest Misses' Silhouette AS FULL SKIRTED AND SHORT SLEEVED

A RETURN of the full skirt is forecast in the newest vogue of Paris. Mayhap it is reflective of the prodigality of the times—perhaps only a reaction from the sterner stuff of war to the femininity of peace, but whatever the reason, the new silhouette, shown first by the Individual Shops, reveals the generous skirt-fulness of the periods that have followed the great conflicts of history. The calendar turns back to Grandma's day and the Miss shares in a revival of the glories of a mode in which comfort vied with ingenuity in producing a genuinely feminine fashion.

Spring Paris watches the course of Auteuil, of Longchamps with no more intensity than Gotham at this season turns its glances toward the resorts favored by fashion for motifs that are destined to determine the mode for months to come. This new silhouette awaits the Miss who aims to signalize her appearance at shore, lake or mountain by the possession of the *dernier cri* in feminine attire, versions of which are shown in

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